

## 4. Mayor Robredo

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# 4

## Mayor Robredo

Virtually unknown at the time, Jesse M. Robredo ran for mayor in the 1988 election and won. Thereafter he was able to build up a strong political position in the city despite his conflict with Luis R. Villafuerte, his former political guardian. This chapter examines the process by which Robredo built up his political power.

### **Jesse M. Robredo**

As the 1988 local elections approached, the first local elections after the EDSA Revolution, the political powers in Naga City started preparing their candidates for the all-important mayoral campaign.

Villafuerte had reached an agreement with Carlos del Castillo that the latter would not run in the 1988 election. Villafuerte wanted a “winnable” candidate to run against Raul Roco’s group in the city. Roco had been making efforts to expand his political influence, and he had been successful in the 1987 elections for the House of Representatives. Villafuerte picked his nephew, Jesse M. Robredo, for the task.

In April 1986 Villafuerte made Robredo the director of the Bicol River Basin Development Program (BRBDP) which was a governmental institution promoting development in the Bicol Region.<sup>1</sup> The post of BRBDP director was an ideal position for Robredo’s preparation for the coming mayoral election. He researched the socioeconomic problems in Naga City and tried to

formulate development plans for his future administration. At the same time, he recruited a staff from the BRBDP to form his confidential group for political activities.<sup>2</sup>

Robredo was born to an ethnic Chinese family in Naga City in 1958. He is the third of five children.<sup>3</sup> His grandfather emigrated from China. His parents managed a medium-sized wholesale and retail business and also dealt in lumber. Two sisters became medical doctors, while another sister and a brother are engaged in business in the city.

The Robredo family and Villafuerte are very close since they have blood relations. Villafuerte's middle name is Robredo. Robredo's grandfather on his father's side and Villafuerte's mother are brother and sister although with different mothers. When Villafuerte ran in the elections in 1978 and 1984, he sometimes stayed at Robredo's residence in Naga City; and Robredo along with his father joined Villafuerte's election campaigns. For his part, Robredo used to stay at Villafuerte's house in Makati when he was a college student in Manila.

Robredo received his high school education at a Jesuit school, Ateneo de Naga. Then he pursued his college education at De La Salle University in Manila, taking up mechanical engineering and industrial management engineering. After graduation he joined the San Miguel Corporation, one of the giant companies in the Philippines. He was in charge of logistics, especially the distribution of Magnolia ice cream. While he was working, he attended classes at the College of Business Administration of the University of the Philippines, and he earned a Master of Business Administration from the university in 1985. After experiencing street demonstrations during the 1986 EDSA Revolution as a young white-collar worker in Manila, he returned to his hometown at the request of his uncle, Villafuerte, to be director of the BRBDP. He was then barely twenty-eight years old.

Robredo ran in the 1988 elections as a candidate of Villafuerte's Lakas ng Bansa. Villafuerte selected his party's vice mayoral and city council candidates as well. Meanwhile the anti-Villafuerte groups formed a political alliance dubbed the Cory Coalition. This coalition was led by Alfelor, Roco, and Andaya. Ciriaco Alfelor was the sitting representative for the fourth district of Camarines Sur while Raul Roco was that for the second district, and Roland Andaya for the first district. All three had won their seats in the 1987 congressional elections. Ciriaco's brother, Felix Alfelor Jr., ran for governor of Camarines Sur against Villafuerte, while Raul's brother, Ramon, ran for mayor against Robredo.

After a tough campaign, Robredo narrowly won with 14,086 votes (36 per cent of the total) over Ramon Roco's 13,139 votes.<sup>4</sup> Villafuerte also won in the

gubernatorial election by defeating Felix Alfelor Jr. However, other than Robredo's victory, Villafuerte's party was able to garner only the seats of vice mayor and two city councilors in Naga. The other eight seats on the city council were taken by Roco's slate (Table 4-1).

Although some opposition city councilors defected to Robredo's side and collaborated with him in policy making, Robredo was unable to gain a major-

TABLE 4-1  
RESULTS OF THE 1988 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NAGA CITY

Mayor	Jesse M. Robredo	Lakas ng Bansa	14,086
Losing candidates:	Ramon S. Roco	Cory Coalition	13,139
	Mariano M. Sibulo	Liberal Party	7,319
	Resitutita M. Imperial	Liberal Party	2,264
	Eduardo S. Rey	Nacionalista Party	1,179
	Virginia Felipe-Perez	Independent	1,012
Vice mayor	Lourdes V. Asence	Lakas ng Bansa	11,430
Losing candidates:	Efren G. Santos	Independent (Perez)	10,394
	Anton Tadeo S. Dy-Prieto	Cory Coalition	8,693
	Julian C. Ocampo III	Liberal Party	3,738
	Manuel O. Berina	Liberal Party	1,329
	Ruben M. Galang	Independent	892
	Armando Aguja Jr.		882
Councilors:	1. Jose C. Rañola	Cory Coalition	19,345
	2. Roberto V. de Asis	Cory Coalition	16,528
	3. Noe B. Botor	Cory Coalition	14,338
	4. Erlinda R. Libunao	Cory Coalition	12,996
	5. Jose L. Grageda	Cory Coalition	12,880
	6. Rodolfo ZA. Fortuno	Cory Coalition	11,954
	7. Alfredo A. Cabral Sr.	Lakas ng Bansa	11,591
	8. Carmen F. del Castillo	Lakas ng Bansa	11,549
	9. Romeo S. Tayo	Cory Coalition	11,146
	10. Luis G. Ortega	Cory Coalition	10,455
Losing candidates: <sup>a</sup>	11. Rachel N. General		9,965
	12. Cayetano P. Tantua		9,934
	13. Eduardo C. Enojado		9,320
	14. Rolando L. Bobis		9,304
	15. Severiano T. Tacorda		9,058
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	40.		

Sources: The Record & Statistics Division of Commission on Elections, and Commission on Elections Naga City Field Office.

<sup>a</sup> There were a total of thirty losing candidates for councilors.

ity on the city council, and this became a barrier impeding the passage of ordinances that he needed for implementing his policies. This barrier made Robredo determine to capture the majority or even all seats on the city council in the following election. But another problem arose that eclipsed his difficulties with the city council, and this was the breakdown of his relations with Villafuerte.

### **The Rift between Villafuerte and Robredo**

After the tough fight against Rocos, Villafuerte thought he had successfully brought the mayorship of Naga City under his influence, but this proved wrong. Robredo became the strongest political opponent that Villafuerte ever had. The rift between Villafuerte and Robredo broke out within a year after the elections. Although there are several speculations and rumors regarding the cause, basically it started when Robredo tried to prevent Villafuerte's intervention in city affairs and was determined to push through his own plans and ideas on city governance.<sup>5</sup>

The rift compelled Robredo to build up his own firm political base in the city, since he had already decided to run in the following 1992 elections, and would not be able to rely on the network of grassroots leaders cultivated by Villafuerte and his follower, former mayor del Castillo, who had supported him in the 1988 elections. Thus Robredo had no choice other than to establish his own grassroots network of supporters. He even started wooing Roco's grassroots leaders to join his following.

For the 1992 elections Villafuerte formed an alliance with his former opponent, Raul Roco. After reorganizing their political parties, both Villafuerte and Roco became the prominent leaders of the newly formed Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP). Villafuerte chose his own sister, Pura Luisa V. Magtuto, the principal of Camarines Sur National High School, as the party's mayoral candidate, and the candidates for vice mayor and the city council were selected from Roco's supporters. Villafuerte himself sought reelection as governor of Camarines Sur, while Roco endeavored to step up to the Senate from the House of Representatives. As congressional candidate for the seat of the second district of Camarines Sur which Roco vacated, the Villafuerte-Roco coalition endorsed Alfredo R. Tria, a former leader of the Bicol Saro Party, and publisher of the local newspaper, *Handiong*.<sup>6</sup> Besides his own campaign in Camarines Sur, Villafuerte also worked as the campaign manager for House Speaker Ramon V. Mitra Jr., the presidential candidate of the LDP in the elections.

As Villafuerte's opponent, Robredo could not join the LDP, and he had a

hard time deciding which party to join, which in effect meant which presidential candidate he was going to make an alliance with. He finally decided to support Defense Secretary Fidel V. Ramos who had been endorsed by President Aquino. Ramos had just lost to Mitra in the party nomination of the LDP and had left the party. Robredo joined Ramos's newly formed Lakas-NUCD Party as a founding member. He then proceeded to pick his own candidates for vice mayor and city councilors.<sup>7</sup> Incumbent Vice Mayor Lourdes V. Asence joined Robredo's group, though she had run for vice mayor in the previous elections at Villafuerte's request.<sup>8</sup> As candidate for the congressional second district of Camarines Sur, where Naga City is located, Robredo endorsed radio personality and lawyer Celso O. Baguio of the Partido ng Masang Pilipino (Filipino Mass Party: PMP), which was led by Senator and vice presidential candidate Joseph Estrada.

Robredo won overwhelmingly. He garnered 33,487 votes, while second-placed Magtuto got only 9,056 votes.<sup>9</sup> Robredo's slate also took the vice mayorship, all the seats on the city council, and even the congressional seat, in other words, all the elective posts. (Table 4-2). Thus Robredo enjoyed the total support of the city council which created the favorable circumstances he needed to push through his policy legislation.

Also significant for Robredo was his support of Ramos who won the presidential election. Having close ties with the president is crucial in managing a city government because of the access afforded to state resources at the national level.<sup>10</sup> Robredo had gained Ramos's confidence, as he was one of the very first local officials to declare support for Ramos in the elections. This gave Robredo good standing in relations with the national government. His development scheme for Naga City and surrounding municipalities was realized in 1993 by Executive Order 102 which created the Metro Naga Development Council. Robredo was also appointed chairman of the Bicol Regional Development Council, and later he was elected president of League of Cities. All these were made possible because of Ramos's support of Robredo.

While Robredo could savor total victory, Villafuerte lost his bid for reelection as governor. He was defeated by the incumbent vice governor, Jose M. Bulaong, who had been a member of the Cory Coalition in the 1988 elections, and ran under the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC) of another presidential candidate, Eduardo Cojuangco, in 1992. Raul Roco fared better and was able to get into the Senate.

The 1992 elections affirmed the establishment of a new political power in Naga City. Robredo did not face any serious challenges from opponents in the 1995 elections. Villafuerte could not find any tough mayoral contender, and Robredo's party again swept all the seats in the city (Table 4-3). In the

TABLE 4-2  
RESULTS OF THE 1992 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NAGA CITY

Mayor	Jesse M. Robredo	Lakas EDSA-NUCD	33,487
Losing candidates:	Pura Luisa V. Magtuto	LDP	9,056
	Porfirio A. Espeso	KBL	51
Vice mayor	Lourdes V. Asence	Lakas EDSA-NUCD	28,750
Losing candidates:	Jose C. Rañola	LDP	12,693
	Romeo S. B. Escalante	KBL	96
Councilors:	1. Rodolfo Z. Fortuno	Lakas-NUCD	25,870
	2. Esteban R. Abonal	Lakas EDSA-NUCD	24,950
	3. Fiel L. Rosales	Lakas-NUCD	22,332
	4. Jaime S. Jacob	Lakas-NUCD	22,084
	5. A. J. Agapito M. Tria II	Lakas-NUCD	21,994
	6. Janet B. Soler	Lakas-NUCD	21,017
	7. Socorro B. Felix	Lakas-NUCD	20,436
	8. Jorge S. de Guzman	Lakas-NUCD	19,307
	9. Emilio M. Aguinaldo	Lakas EDSA-NUCD	18,271
	10. Manuel P. Flores	Lakas-NUCD	17,720
Losing candidates: <sup>a</sup>	11. Roberto V. de Asis	LDP	13,177
	12. Noe B. Botor	LDP	10,886
	13. Erlinda R. Libunao	LDP	10,246
	14. Victorio A. Aguila	LDP	9,185
	15. Jose L. Grageda	LDP	8,705
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Source: The Record & Statistics Division of Commission on Elections.

<sup>a</sup> There were a total of fourteen losing candidates for councilors.

congressional election for the second district of Camarines Sur, Robredo did not endorse Baguio, although the latter had shifted over to Robredo's Lakas-NUCD by election time. Baguio had lost Robredo's confidence because of his reluctance to support some of Robredo's candidates in the city council elections. Robredo gave his support to Leopoldo E. San Buenaventura of the Liberal Party who defeated Baguio. But the 1995 elections were favorable for Villafuerte who was able to reclaim the governorship of Camarines Sur.

### The 1998 Elections

In the 1998 elections, Robredo was constitutionally barred from running for a fourth term.<sup>11</sup> Instead he endorsed as mayoral candidate one of Raul Roco's

TABLE 4-3  
RESULTS OF THE 1995 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NAGA CITY

Mayor	Jesse M. Robredo	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	38,408
Losing candidates:	Jose H. Felipe	Independent	997
	Edmundo S. Magistrado	Independent	229
Vice mayor	Lourdes V. Asence	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	36,575
Councilors: <sup>a</sup>	1. Fiel L. Rosales	Independent	25,290
	2. Esteban R. Abonal	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	25,115
	3. Janet B. Soler	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	24,173
	4. Jose A. Tuason	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	23,757
	5. Jose C. Rañola	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	22,729
	6. Jaime D. Jacob	Independent	22,032
	7. Simeon F. Adan	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	20,467
	8. Gabriel H. Bordado Jr.	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	19,503
	9. Jorge S. de Guzman	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	18,912
	10. Socorro B. Felix	Lakas NUCD-UMDP	17,893
Losing candidates: <sup>b</sup>	11. Jojo L. Villafuerte	Laban (LDP)	14,704
	12. Romeo S. Tayo	Laban (LDP)	13,213
	13. Ulysses B. Botor	Laban (LDP)	11,871
	14. Victorio A. Aguila	Laban (LDP)	8,977
	15. Jose V. Reniva	Laban (LDP)	6,784
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	20.		

Source: The Record & Statistics Division of Commission on Elections.

<sup>a</sup> Councilors Rosales and Jacob were Robredo's candidates though they were independents. They were registered with Lakas-NUCD in the previous election though they were not members.

<sup>b</sup> There were a total of ten losing candidates for councilors.

brothers, Sulpicio S. Roco Jr., who belonged to Raul Roco's party, the Aksyon Demokratiko (Democratic Action). Robredo had reached a reconciliation with Senator Raul Roco, whom he had opposed in previous elections. The two formed a coalition and Roco then ran for president.

But Robredo ran into a big problem with his party. The Lakas-NUCD nominated House Speaker Jose de Venecia as its presidential candidate. However, it was hard for Robredo not to support Raul Roco who was from Naga City and if elected would be the first Bicolano president of the country.<sup>12</sup> Sensing the strong regionalism/localism prevailing in the city and the entire Bicol Region, Robredo sought some means to balance this regionalism and relations with his political party. He tried to make Naga City a "free zone" which meant that the Lakas-NUCD would not endorse any candidates in the



city. De Venecia consented to this move, but the Lakas-NUCD eventually adopted Robredo's opponents led by Agapito Tria as their party candidates in the city.<sup>13</sup> This left Robredo no choice other than putting all his candidates under the banner of Raul Roco's Aksyon Demokratiko Party.<sup>14</sup>

Villafuerte selected his own sons, Mariano Jose Villafuerte III and Luis Raymund Villafuerte Jr., as congressional and mayoral candidates respectively and put them under the Laban ng Makabayan Masang Pilipino (Struggle of the Nationalist Filipino Masses: LAMMP) of vice president and presidential candidate Joseph Estrada.<sup>15</sup> The lineup of Naga politics this time was the Robredo-Roco coalition vs. Villafuerte. Moreover Robredo's followers had split because some mayoral and vice mayoral aspirants in his group did not get Robredo's blessing. Vice Mayor Asence ran for mayor under the Liberal Party and two city councilors ran for vice mayor.

The outcome of the elections was another landslide victory for the Robredo camp. Sulpicio Roco won with 32,157 votes (62.9 per cent of the total)<sup>16</sup> and Robredo's people took the vice mayorship and all the seats on the city council (Table 4-4). In the congressional second district election, City Councilor Jaime DLS. Jacob, a member of Robredo's group, won against Mariano Jose Villafuerte III, former Rep. Baguio, and incumbent Rep. San Buenavetura<sup>17</sup> with the backing of a large proportion of the voters in Naga City.<sup>18</sup> Luis Villafuerte was again reelected as governor, but with the defeat of his two sons and the other candidates in the city he had selected, he was not able to regain power in Naga City.

After the elections Robredo went to the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He came back to the city after his schooling and ran again for mayor in the 2001 elections. He won again along with all his candidates for the city government, while Sulpicio Roco won in the congressional election for the second district of Camarines Sur. Robredo had, for a fourth time, attained a monopoly over the elective seats of the Naga City Government.

Felipe, Sibulo, Villafuerte, Roco, and Robredo, the prominent leaders in Naga politics, have some traits in common. All of them have been development oriented and equipped with notable capacities as lawmakers or managers of government to direct programs. Felipe was an able lawyer and eventually became a leader in the Congress. Sibulo started development schemes in the city, especially constructing infrastructure that included the big public market. Both Villafuerte and Roco are successful corporate lawyers. And Robredo is an award-winning mayor with remarkable management skill. Their personal capacities certainly have something to do with their political power. In addition, the role of the state can be easily seen in the process of their acquiring and maintaining power.

TABLE 4-4  
RESULTS OF THE 1998 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN NAGA CITY

Mayor	Sulpicio S. Roco	Aksyon Demokratiko	32,157
Losing candidates:	Luis Raymund Villafuerte Jr.	LAMMP	14,329
	J. Agapito Tria	Lakas-NUCD	2,435
	Lourdes Asence	Liberal Party	2,103
	Edmundo Magistrado		70
	Glinton Ervas		35
	Leonor Abias		12
Vice mayor	Esteban Abonal	Aksyon Demokratiko	23,267
Losing candidates:	Juan Benito Dematera	LAMMP	9,774
	Jose Tuazon	Lakas-NUCD	8,021
	Jorge de Guzman	Liberal Party	7,403
Councilors:	1. Gabriel Bordado Jr.	Aksyon Demokratiko	22,041
	2. Jose Rañola	Aksyon Demokratiko	21,599
	3. Simeon Adan	Aksyon Demokratiko	20,332
	4. Fiel Rosales	Aksyon Demokratiko	19,633
	5. William Kalaw	Aksyon Demokratiko	18,904
	6. Cecilia de Asis	Aksyon Demokratiko	18,272
	7. Rodolfo Z. Fortuno	Aksyon Demokratiko	16,669
	8. Francisco Felizmenio	Aksyon Demokratiko	16,442
	9. Mila Arroyo	Aksyon Demokratiko	15,398
	10. Jose Grageda	Aksyon Demokratiko	15,257
Losing candidates: <sup>a</sup>	11. Maria Lucia Carpio	LAMMP	14,905
	12. Jojo Villafuerte	LAMMP	14,642
	13. Benjamin Lucena Jr.	Liberal Party	13,243
	14. Romeo S. Tayo	LAMMP	12,880
	15. Roland D. Cabral	LAMMP	12,758
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	33.		

Source: Quick count of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (Namfrel).

<sup>a</sup> There were a total of twenty-three losing candidates for councilors.

Robredo is not personally a key figure in the Naga City economy, given that he is neither a landlord nor a prominent businessman. In short, he does not depend on personal wealth for his political activities.<sup>19</sup> Like his predecessors, Felipe, Sibulo, and Villafuerte, Robredo has maintained his hold on power in Naga City because of his control over state resources. He was able to mobilize these resources first with Villafuerte's backing. Then he attained control over the resources as city mayor. Institutionally Robredo has also benefited from the fact that, as an independent component city, Naga can prevent provincial

government intervention and access to city resources. This has allowed Robredo to avoid Villafuerte's institutional intervention based on his position as provincial governor. Moreover, he could utilize his ties with President Ramos to gain access to national resources. Robredo has succeeded in establishing a monopoly over state resources, both national and local, within the jurisdiction of Naga City, and this has sustained his power. The next chapters will deal with the mechanisms of power of the Robredo administration, starting with an examination of the mayor's management of city government.

## Notes

- 1 The BRBDP was created by Presidential Decree 926 in 1976. The purpose for creating the institution was "the integration of national and local government programs and the decentralization of rural development project planning and implementation as the preferred development strategy for the Bicol River Basin" (Koppel 1987, p. 206). It initially covered Camarines Sur and Albay; Sorsogon was added later. Villafuerte requested Vice President Salvador Laurel, who had appointive powers as chairman of the National Council on Integrated Area Development (NACIAD), to appoint Robredo. The BRBDP was abolished after Robredo was elected mayor. During his time as director, Robredo faced severe pressure from Edmundo Cea who tried to replace him in 1987 with Cea's nephew, Edmundo Jocom. It was virtually a proxy war between Villafuerte and Cea. Robredo was able to hold onto the position, and it turned into a positive step to the 1988 mayoral election. See "Jocom Named to BRBDP Post: Employees Protest Robredo Relief," *Bicol Tribune*, January 30, 1987; "Jocom Meets Strong Opposition: Basin Workers Block Him," *Bicol Star*, January 31, 1987; and "Jocom Urged to Defend Himself," *Bicol Tribune*, February 6, 1987.
- 2 Some staff of the BRBDP took positions in the city government when Robredo assumed the mayorship. As an example of Robredo's study of Naga City's socioeconomic situation and his policy recommendations, see Robredo (1987).
- 3 Information on Robredo's personal history from author's interview with Jesse M. Robredo, city mayor of Naga, at City Hall, Naga City, August 19, 1997.
- 4 Data from the Commission on Elections.
- 5 One of the triggers of the conflict was said to be a difference over a crackdown on *jueteng*, illegal gambling, in the city, in addition to other personal disagreements. Interviews with several informants. Regarding *jueteng* in Naga City and Camarines Sur, see Benjie Guevarra, "Senate Probes AFP Coddling of Bicol Gambling Rings," *Malaya*, September 2, 1989; "Military, Bicol Officials Hit on Gambling," *Manila Chronicle*, September 2, 1989; Michael Dueñas, "Maceda Exposes 'Unholy Alliance' in Bicol: PC Top Brass Coddling Gambling Lords?" *Philippines*

- Free Press*, September 19, 1989, pp. 6–7; and Johanna Son, “Maceda Bares Name of Bicol Gambling Lord,” *Manila Chronicle*, November 29, 1989.
- 6 Former mayors Vicente Sibulo and Carlos del Castillo also ran for representative of the second district of Camarines Sur in the elections.
  - 7 Pro-Roco city councilors and some pro-Robredo city councilors as well left Robredo because of their relationship with Villafuerte.
  - 8 Interview with Lourdes V. Asence, vice mayor of Naga City, November 19, 1996. For informative accounts of the careers of prominent Bicolano women, see Aureus (1997).
  - 9 Data from the Commission on Elections.
  - 10 One particular reason Robredo needed the president’s support was that Robredo was facing a charge filed by Villafuerte questioning his nationality which threatened his qualification for public office. “Rap Mayor As ‘Fake’ Filipino: Ask CID to Probe Case,” *Handiong*, January 1, 1992; Pete L. Ampoloquio, “The ‘Citizenship’ Issue,” *Handiong*, January 9, 1992; and interview with Jesse M. Robredo, August 19, 1997.
  - 11 The 1987 Philippine Constitution prohibits local officials from serving for more than three consecutive terms. The 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, Art. X, Sec. 8.
  - 12 Roco received more than 90 per cent of the votes in Naga City, although he placed third in the presidential election.
  - 13 Tria had been in Robredo’s camp. He was a legal officer for the city under the Robredo administration and later became a city councilor. But he left Robredo since he failed to get the latter’s endorsement to run for representative of the second district in the 1995 elections.
  - 14 This was ironical because, as president of the League of Cities, Robredo was a member of the sixteen-man selection committee of the Lakas-NUCD for nominating the party’s presidential candidate.
  - 15 The LAMMP was formed as a coalition of Estrada’s PMP, Cojuangco’s NPC, and Senate President Edgardo Angara’s LDP. It was natural for Villafuerte to run under the LAMMP since he was a prominent leader of the LDP.
  - 16 Quick count of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (Namfrel).
  - 17 Incumbent Rep. San Buenaventura could not get Robredo’s endorsement. The rift between San Buenaventura and Robredo had already taken place by election time. It started when San Buenaventura refused to release promised funds and started to criticize Robredo about the relocation of the urban poor in a certain area.
  - 18 As of 1995 the population of Naga City made up 33.3 per cent of the entire second district of Camarines Sur (NSO 1995a).
  - 19 However, his relatives who own an industrial company in Manila have been supporting him, especially his election campaigns. Interview with Jesse M. Robredo, August 19, 1997, and interview with an anonymous informant.